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SOUTHERN ARISTOCRATIC REPUBLIC!

VERSUS

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC!

"IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT!"

LETTER OF M. J. SAFFOLD,
OF ALABAMA,

TO THE MONTGOMERY "MAIL."

AUGUST 12, 1866.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
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LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 13, 1866.

Editors of the Montgomery Mail:

I beg leave to call your attention to the enclosed, clipped from your issue of the 7th instant:

"THE POLITICAL CANVASS.—The year 1866 promises to be one of most exciting in the history of the Government. The Radicals have already commenced the campaign in Pennsylvania, and a Washington despatch to the New York *Tribune* says:

"The State Central Committee of Pennsylvania has promises from some of the best political orators in the country to canvass the State this fall. By the middle of the present month the work of speech-making will be in full blast."

"We understand that one of the Radical orators who will stump Pennsylvania is none other than M. J. Saffold, of Washington, who was commissioner of the Confederate States, captain in the Confederate States army, and sought a judgeship in Alabama, which he could only have held by taking the oath to support the Confederate States. As captain and commissioner he swore to support the Confederate States, and did so, until he jumped too fast and too far at a meeting held in Montgomery soon after the surrender!"

If you believe, with Mr. Jefferson, that "error may be tolerated if left to a free combat with reason;" if you maintain that the plainest constitutional guarantees of the Constitution, "freedom of speech," "freedom of the press," are not *myths*, a mere transparent *mockery*, in that *aristocratic republican government* between the Rio Grande and the Susquehanna, you will not fear to open your columns for once to a defense of myself individually, and of the interests of the great white masses, in maintaining *democracy—democratic representative republican government* in the South.

MY INDIVIDUAL RECORD

Is of small importance. Yet I may be permitted to say that, *while you may not know that*, as captain in the Confederate States army—commissioner for the examination of political prisoners in Alabama and Western Georgia—State Printer of Alabama for 1863 and 1864—candidate for judge of the second judicial circuit of Alabama in the spring of 1865—I *did not, at any time or under any circumstances, swear to support the so-called Confederate States government*—while you may not know this, *you do, or should know*, that the cavalry company was raised, without my agency, in Coffee county, Alabama, of men who were fighting against their every interest; that they tendered the command to me in order that I might put them into Hannon's Partisan Rangers, rather than they should be left to the ruthless savagery of your tyrannical conscription laws; that, after accomplishing their wishes, and within a few weeks *before* they left Montgomery for the field, I exchanged the captaincy for more congenial employment.

That in 1863 I sought and obtained the commissionership; that my congenial duties were, to discharge from the Bastiles and military prisons loyal men and women, whom the *sedition laws* of a manufactured proscriptive sentiment incarcerated therein for alleged *disloyal* expressions; that the secession press and public denounced me for discharging these Union people as a *reconstructionist*.

That this same influence denounced me, as engaged in an ill-disguised effort, as early as 1861, to build up a reconstruction party in Alabama; that the complexion of the lower House of the Alabama Legislature of 1863 and 1864 was largely attributed to the influence of this reconstruction party in Alabama; that I was charged with designing to establish a Union organ in Montgomery, on the *debris* of the "Mail," when Figures and myself were elected by that *Legislature State Printers*.

That in furtherance of the interests of this party, I opened the canvass in the spring of

1865, as a candidate for the judgeship, preparatory to the August elections for the Executive and Legislative branches of the State Government. That our efforts were only arrested by the collapse of the Confederacy.

You know that, when it suited your interest thus to charge and denounce me as an enemy to your Confederacy you did so unsparingly.

Now that it suits your interest to hold me to seeming committals which your tyranny forced on me, and to try to destroy my influence at the North, you are willing, nay, anxious, to give me credit for supporting your unholy usurpation until I "jumped too far, and too fast, at a meeting held in Montgomery soon after the surrender."

You know, moreover, that this withering public sentiment, on which your aristocratic republic rests, and by which it is maintained—supported as it was in 1862 and 1863 by the tyrannical grappling irons of conscription—was ceaselessly active in forcing complications with the rebellion, not only for active "aid and comfort," but as committals on all men liable to conscription. You know that intelligent democratic republicans in Alabama, as in all the insurrectionary States, were forced to succumb to the despotism of law and public sentiment, and fight against their principles, to maintain an odious monopoly; or, to fight the devil with the devil's weapons; or, to abandon their homes and household goas.

Sirs, I chose to fight the devil with the devil's weapons. And when you raise the question, as to which side holds the balance of moral and political rectitude, I am prepared for an exhibit, with these red-handed revolutionists, of moral and political virtues.

Enough for my individual record! You may put it in your pipe and smoke it. During your whole rebellion to maintain your aristocratic republic and overthrow democratic republicanism south of the Susquehanna, I never drew one friendly breath for your usurpation. Since the early days, when the accumulated wisdom of ages declared the plainest principle of common justice, that seeming complicity with rebellion, under duress of traitors, is not treason, the law has existed which exonerates me from this attempted outrage on the true republican democratic principles of our Government, and the constitutional rights of the great democratic masses of the South. But in all climes and in all ages, since the days of AEsop, when oppression and injustice, at the hands of the strong against the weak were rebuked, there have been found wolves to seek the "blood of the lamb" for muddling the stream below them.

A word as to my

"RADICALISM."

You may hold this epithet in *terrorem* over the heads of the great non-slaveholding peoples of the South, whom your aristocratic government has doomed to an unwilling poverty and ignorance, and seduce them yet a while longer to forge their own chains, that you, a pampered few, may be elevated to the highest points of power and happiness while they are reduced to the extreme of misery and unhappiness. You may invoke the indignation of the young and thoughtless dependent, upon your 30,000 slaveholders, who, under the teachings of your "free press" and "free speech," know as much of the real issues of the great struggle as they do of the topography of the mountains in the moon. For these, "radicalism" may have its terrors. But to the free, unfettered intellects—that "radicalism" of the Constitution—which breaks down the barrier of a tyrannical, proscriptive public sentiment, maintaining, under the forms of representative democracy, a real slave-mudsill aristocratic republic, whose shibboleth is the sacrifice of a thousand paupers to make one aristocrat in the future; whose corner-stone is the central idea of heathenism—oppression of the masses by the few, scorn of man, and degradation of humanity—that "radicalism" which extends the great guarantees of our Constitution, of "free speech," "free press," the "immunities and privileges" of citizens of the different States, over the great northern section of America, protecting and developing *pari passu* its great diversified interests—elevating to hope and happiness alike the mineral, manufacturing, lumber, grain-growing, stock-raising, commercial localities and interests, as well as the agricultural—that "radicalism" which elevates, not degrades, free white labor, fills these northern States with teeming population, educating annually one-third of the whole, paying from their annual products a *per capita* of from one hundred to one hundred and sixty-six dollars to every man, woman and child—that "radicalism" which builds networks of railroads, canals, towns, cities, villages—that "radicalism" which conserves the great representative democratic principles of the Constitution in the North and West, but indeed radicalizes, does seek to reform the aristocratic republic of the Southern section—that "radicalism" I accept as the greatest political virtue!

It is "conservatism" at the North, "radicalism" at the South, because you have not the government of the "fathers" there.

SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM

Proposes to pamper the few, impoverish the white masses, enslave the negroes. How long do you suppose that the two-thirds of the 18,000,000 acres of land in Alabama, the non-slaveholding democratic republican localities—the mineral, manufacturing, lumber, commercial, mechanical, grain-growing, stock-raising, interests—with their dense white populations, will now be content to remain undeveloped, unborn, while the slave agricultural lands and interests *alone* are developed?

You have had as the seat of *primary power* 30,000 slaveholders in Alabama, in which the population in 1860 was near 1,000,000. The 30,000 slaveholders have drawn into *dependency upon them*—their families—the learned professions, the lawyer, the doctor, preacher, teacher, editor, merchant, mechanic—all professions, trades, and employments—because the slave agricultural interest, *the only one developed, paid them incomes*; and they gave to the towering monopoly their allegiance, and enabled you to boast that you represent all the wealth, intelligence, energy and will of the South.

This agricultural locality is one-third of the State. Its population one-fifth of the whole. With all your monopoly, developing alone your *one interest*, with all your appliance for suborning the allegiance of a dependent population, you do not number over 200,000 *interested* in maintaining your aristocratic republic—your monopoly of all the blessings of life; and these will divide their allegiance with the free labor interests as soon as they begin to develop, and pay incomes to them, as the agricultural slave-product localities do.

Sirs, you claim to be the *representatives of the South*—the only representatives; you demand that you shall be admitted into the councils of the nation, or else representative government must be abandoned. If representation means protection, what protection have you given to these non-slaveholding localities, interests and peoples in Alabama? Take the "white trash," as you call the poor white people of the mineral, manufacturing, lumber regions of north, east and south Alabama, with their untold wealth and large population—constituting two-thirds of the State in square miles and real undeveloped wealth—what protection have you given these? Is it not such *protection* as the wolf gives to the lamb, or the vulture its prey?

Have not the capitalists, the landlords of the agricultural interest, condemned them as unfit to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for them—proscribed them from the rich agricultural lands, and covered them with negroes? Where, in the history of any free country, do you find capital proscribing its free labor, but in some slave aristocracy?

Do you not permit these white people to live on these unagricultural lands simply because they are too poor, agriculturally, for slave labor? Have you not condemned them to agriculture, on this unagricultural territory, by refusing them a dollar of capital wherewith to develop the hidden and visible wealth of their locality? Has not your withering, blasting, public sentiment swept, like the hot breath of the sirocco, over the land, stifling all tendencies of homogeneous free capital from the non-slaveholding States to come in and develop these minerals, cut down these forests, build manufacturing, put the people to work, secure to them the reward of honest industry and toil, elevating them to hope, and making free, independent, useful, intelligent democratic republicans of them! Where are your railroads, your school-houses, your churches, your towns, villages, cities, amongst them?

Do you suppose that the 350,000 white democratic republicans of north, east, and south Alabama are always to be dead, under your manufactured opinion, to their interests? Do you suppose that the 435,000 "former slaves" are simply to be converted into serfs to maintain this blighting aristocratic monopoly? You conscripted these white democratic republicans into your ranks to fight against the democratic republican principles of the Government, which alone elevate them, to maintain your aristocratic republic, which crushes all life from them; and now, with your manufactured opinion, that "treason is respectable," you tell them that they have incurred the risks, and undergone the hardships of the battle-field, they must claim *the rewards*; that *you* are their sympathizers; and you seduce them to aid you in forging yet more securely their chains. Will such sophistry as this always prevail?

You seek to divide the democracy—those whose interest it is to uphold democracy—by arraying the free whites against the blacks, on the sophism that the Yankee seeks to make the negro their equal; while he, indeed, merely seeks to emancipate both white man and negro from your aristocratic oppressions.

You seek to array the negro against the Yankee, because you say the Yankee wishes to crowd him out and occupy the rich lands himself. The "old master" is his true friend—

that is, as long as he will consent to remain a slave "nigger," mud-sill for the aristocratic fabric.

How long do you suppose error will thus make the circuit of the sphere, before truth will come leaping after?

You say,

"THE RADICALS SEEK TO SUBVERT THE CONSTITUTION."

Do you maintain the Constitution in your aristocratic republic? Can a press advocating my views escape the mob in Alabama? Is there any "freedom of speech" which maintains the great democratic-republican principles of "equal and exact justice" to all people, localities, and interests in Alabama? Are there not millions of white democratic republicans in all the South, to-day, trembling for fear of a New Orleans massacre, and who would not dare to openly resist your tyrannizing aristocracy? Nay, you will scarcely dare publish this letter, yet I challenge you to do it, if "free speech" is indeed not a mere mockery.

Have the citizens of Connecticut and Massachusetts the "immunities and privileges" guaranteed to them by the Constitution, the right to carry their capital, energy, will, and skill into the mineral and manufacturing regions of Alabama, and openly express their free democratic-republican sentiments? or, would you raise the mad-dog cry of "abolitionists," "d—d Yankee," and "tar and feather" and "ride them out on a rail"? Do you call this upholding the Constitution?

Nay, Messrs. Editors, what I propose to do for Alabama is to emancipate her poor white masses, put her free white labor to work, bring up these long-neglected non-slaveholding localities, rich in minerals, manufacturing sites, lumber, &c., into development *pari passu* with the agricultural; elevate the white democratic-republican masses into hope and intelligence; rapidly increase the white labor of the country, by accessions of capital, energy, skill and will from the North; divide out your large plantations in the interior, now covered with negroes, not as Andrew Johnson of 1863 and 1864 would have done, by amending the Constitution and making treason work a perpetual forfeiture of the lands of large slaveholders, and then sell them out to negroes; but I propose so to enrich the honest laborer of the country by securing the fruits of his honest toil, and by developing his localities, that he will "hammer at your gin-house doors with bags of gold," until you will sell your lands to him, and make you, who now abuse me as a "radical," rich and happy in spite of yourselves.

You ring the changes on,

"RADICAL NEGRO SUFFRAGE"—"NEGRO EQUALITY."

You hope by thrusting this *but-end* of the democratic wedge into the hands of the radicals, that the wedge will not go in and rive asunder your aristocratic fabric; that the universal prejudice of the white race to the negro will cause this *but-end* of the wedge to rebound. You may, however, be assured that the "Jack Hamilton party," as your papers derisively call us, will see to it that the wedge goes in *right end foremost*. The rights of the great non-slaveholding democratic-republican masses shall be maintained. This is the edge of the wedge that shall penetrate and rive asunder your aristocracy. Nay, sirs, cease to play upon the assumed ignorance of the southern democratic masses!

This great democratic-republican plan of government, "in which the harmony and beauty of a republic is embodied in visible order, built on solid substructions, adorned by every useful ornament," must be maintained on the great principles which governed the fathers of the republic!

Shall we, by arraigning the wisdom of Providence for making this four millions of our population *black* instead of *white*, and placing them among us—shall we permit our prejudice against this race, which, according to the best computation, will in 1900 number less than 10,000,000, while the aggregate population of America will number 100,000,000—to swerve us from the maintenance of those life-giving republican principles of "equal and exact justice" to all men? Sirs, I have these prejudices, as you have; but let us rise above them, subordinate them to these commanding principles, which alone can make the sunny South—that land which is dear to me as "my own, my native land"—teem with the blessings of a well-ordered government; a great, co-equal, integral part of one grand republic!

You tell our people that the "radicals" wish to make the negro *their equals*—politically, socially; make them senators, representatives, judges, jurors, lawyers, preachers; introduce miscegenation, &c., &c.

What shameless delusion! How you condemn the intelligence of our people! Is it not strange that the pen does not fall from the palsied hand that hurls these hurtful errors in the way of your great advancement?

What slanders on the white native nobles of the South, that this African race, snatched by our white civilized hands from barbarism, and for a century studiously steeped in ignorance, to enhance their *menial value*—this 4,000,000 of semi-barbarians in a conflict with 30,000,000 of civilized Americans, can, against the prevailing prejudice, if the foot of oppression is for a moment raised from them, spring into equality with the ruling white race! What disparagement of the Anglo-American! What compliment to the African!

Do legislative enactments straighten the hair, or chisel to delicate proportions the lips or nose; give elegance and grace; intelligence, wealth and power; force associations, intermarriages and equality?

Nay, legislative enactments may remove the barriers which oppression raises in the pathway of advancement; but unless the God of nature has implanted in the human breast the elevating principles and powers which develop into intellectual and moral worth, there can be no elevation. If He has, who shall arraign His wisdom? As well might you war against the equality of the races in that "mansion not made with hands." Cease that insane cry, and maintain the life-giving principles of our Republic!

But what is your

SOUTHERN IDEA OF RESTORATION?

You say you wish your elected Senators and Representatives admitted to seats in Congress. You wish the southern States restored to the Union *just as they are*. I do not doubt this a moment. You wish a restored Union of the great democratic republican northern and western States, with your *aristocratic* republican southern States. You wish to get back into the Government, and maintain your aristocratic monopoly of wealth, intelligence and all the blessings of Government, based on your one agricultural interest. The negroes covering your rich, large plantations as formerly—mere slaves in fact. The "poor white trash," with their rich mineral and other republican free-labor localities, *just as they were before*, wretched, poor, ignorant—not a spindle running in the land scarcely; not a factory, foundry, mining shaft or lumber-mill scarcely—700,000 souls—your serfs and slaves—in only 1,000,000. The local organizations in all the southern States in your aristocratic hands. A withering, tyrannical public sentiment, sweeping from the Rio Grande to the Susquehanna, crisping and charring all opposition to your choice government of the "pampered few." The Executive Department of the Federal Government in your hands, through the treachery of an "insensate brute" whom you despise while you bribe him. With your combination with northern copperhead aristocrats, you propose to take possession of the legislative department of the Federal Government, *peaceably* if you can, *forcibly* if you must. And then, when the "king of Macedon obtains a seat in the Amphictyonic Councils," democratic republican America is gone! The transition from aristocracy to monarchy is of easy accomplishment. But "who shall keep watch in the temple, if the watchmen sleep on their posts?" Be assured that "America, free, happy, enlightened as she is, rests the preservation of her rights and liberties upon the virtue, independence, justice and *sagacity* of her people." These shall not fail!

Nay, you are not satisfied with restoration, *just as you are*, with your *aristocratic* republic, united again with the *democratic* republic of the North. You propose, as Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina, said in his Vicksburg speech of 1859, "that as separation from the North would merely adjourn the contest;" that as the southern democracy (alluding to the non-slaveholding localities, interests, and peoples of the South) grappled slavery in its homes and on its hearthstones, it would involve a *still more bloody contest in the future*." You propose, though you failed to separate from the North, to inaugurate this "bloody contest" against democracy in the South. Witness your Memphis and New Orleans massacres!

For eighty years you entrenched yourselves behind the recognition which slavery wrung from the framers of the Constitution, in the clauses for the rendition of fugitive slaves, regulating the importation of African slaves, and the three-fifths basis of representation; and under your perversion of the doctrine of "States rights," the maintenance of which, Mr. Jefferson declared, was the "surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies;" and under the pretext of constitutional obligation to maintain slavery in the States; you stayed the hand of the Government from extending democratic republican government over one-half of the country, for fear of throttling slavery in the States, and left the great democratic localities, interests and peoples in the South crushed beneath the juggernaut wheels of your *one slave agricultural interest*; maintaining, under the forms of representative

democracy, an oppressive aristocracy, with the real "power behind the throne," a withering, blasting, proscriptive public sentiment—manufactured by subsidizing and suborning all the avenues of public opinion—careering over the land with the torch, tar, pitch, and feathers the halberd and the bludgeon, to guard the approaches of your slave *inferno* against democracy.

Sirs, I will pay you the compliment to say you are a power indeed! When you made your slaveholder's rebellion in 1860, how stood the contest between your aristocratic republic South and the democratic republic North? You held the whole South in your not then so well-defined grasp—all the local and State organizations. The non slave-holding democratic localities, interests and peoples consigned to the political *morque*: Your manufactured proscriptive sentiment, sweeping with resistless fury the land. Northern free capital, energy, skill, and will proscribed the land. Free labor degraded, discouraged, and steadily emigrating to more congenial northern climes. The South dragging along with its *one interest alone* developed. Your aristocracy in the zenith of its local power. Nay, you held the executive, legislative, and judiciary departments of the Federal Government indeed, but so encompassed and inter-mixed with national surroundings and ingredients, that the spirit and genius of your Government was too much diluted with democracy for effective power.

You chose to concentrate it by secession; you reckoned beyond your power; you were defeated by the democracy aligned North and South! Your mode of resistance was ill-advised—you lost! What did you lose? The great cause of aristocratic republicanism? Nay, African slavery by *name* only! The grand struggle goes on bravely. Mr. Seward said the "irrepressible conflict" was between "free labor" and "slave labor." You laugh at his want of breadth of comprehension; you know that the real "irrepressible conflict" is between freedom and slavery in its broadest sense. The sword is no sooner struck from your hands than you grasp other weapons. You adopt another mode of warfare. You rehabilitate your sweeping aristocratic power over the southern States. Resistless in its local power—democracy down at your bidding in all these States at once, or else you murder it as you did at New Orleans. Four millions of negroes crouch at your feet on the "old plantations." You laugh to scorn the idea that you are defeated. You spurn all forms. What place do you assign to slavery in the great struggle? You say it was a convenience, it wrung concession and recognition from the framers of the Constitution. Behind these we entrenched ourselves under the perverted doctrine of States rights, and easily maintained our aristocracy, in defiance of the Constitution and without sanction of law, for eighty years. It was a convenience, nothing more! Any other form of involuntary servitude answers as well. There is but the thinness of tissue paper between slavery and serfdom. What matters it if we have the negro on our plantations, and control him as we did before? To hold this grasp on him, you agonize over the Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights Bill, equal suffrage, and negro equality. The din and clang or resistance to this robbery of your "chattels" rise amid other furies of the conflict.

Your ever faithful Cerberus, public sentiment, holds high carnival, and rampages over the land, grappling in turn with "confiscation," "disfranchisement." On you speed the rehabilitation of your despotic power. What to you is the four years' war, in this great revolutionary drama, but a brilliant sword scene?

You decree *loyalty*—allegiance to the great democratic republican principles of the Constitution—*odious*. *Treason*—the maintenance of oppressive revolutionary principles—*respectable*; nay, the greatest political virtue! The immaculate great Douglas-cropper-scraper of the *Mobile Advertiser*—proclaims us, the adherents of democracy at the South—"insensate brutes," void of manly instincts and noble impulses; too cowardly to defend our "lairs and nests," as the beasts and birds do. This the language of that *Pourras* of America, "the rotten of all times and factions." The *Ricmond Times* proclaims us "scavengers," tolerated by our northern allies as the Charlestonians do their buzzards.

"Ye gods, it doth amaze me,
That men of such a feeble temper should
So get the start of the majestic world,
And bear the palm alone!"

* * * * *

"In the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat doth these our Cæsars feed,
That they are grown so great?"

TREASON, my lords!

Do you suppose that freemen, American patriots, conscious of noble impulses, will per-

mit *traitors* thus to brand them with a false infamy, proscribe them from their homes and hearthstones, their household gods, and all that makes life dear? Never! Never!! But to return.

You rule supreme at the South in every State. Your despotic tyranny, unresisted for four years of war; your fierce dominion, without countervailing influence, since the war; deluding those whom you could by any unholy appliance, crushing and terrifying those whom you cannot seduce into silence—presents you before the American people with a greater apparent unity than ever before.

Mark how you advanced your power to the control of the Executive Department of the Federal Government through

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Do you remember how the avalanche democracy of Alabama was betrayed by Jere. Clemens in 1861? Do you remember the interview between Wm. L. Yancey, the great Precipitator, and this representative man of the Democracy of Alabama, wherein the Precipitator failed in his powerful appeals to Clemens to forego his opposition to the ordinance of secession, and prevent war by presenting an undivided front to coercion? You remember that all this failed. Yet you succeeded! You *bribed him*! You offered him the major generalship of the Alabama forces, with a salary of \$8,000 a year, and the Union democracy of Alabama were betrayed!

They are betrayed in higher quarters again! How have you accomplished it?

How has this representative leader of “insensate brutes” and “buzzard scavengers” been suborned to place the Executive Department in your hands?

Is it because you have spent your lives in proclaiming him a demagogue of low instincts, whose only capital consisted in arraying the poor against the rich? Is it because you exhausted the vocabulary of *slangery* and *thugdom* as late as 1865 to express your contempt of him? Is it because you *scorn* him to-day while you *use him*? Was it because in 1863 he twice visited Washington, and urged the repeal of the clause in the confiscation act which provides, that “it should not be so construed so as to work a forfeiture of the real estate of the offender beyond his natural life,” and declared that—

“Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms, and sold to honest, industrious men. The day for protecting the lands and negroes of these authors of rebellion is past. It is high time it was. I have been most deeply pained at some things which have come under my observation. We get men in command who, under the influence of flattery, fawning, and caressing, grant protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold?”

Or, have you discovered that there is a man “in command who, under the influence of flattery, fawning, and caressing, grants protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold?”

Have you, *aristocrats*—“traitors” he calls you—told him that you represent the energy, will, intelligence, power, of the South; that if he will suborn with office a few leaders of the Union democracy in the South to surrender their rank and file without terms, except that they—their leaders—should be provided for, that you can throw your aristocratic lash over the shoulders of the refractory few, and bring a united South, with all her electoral votes, to his support in 1868; that these, with such as he can get from your northern allies, the Copperheads; and such weak-kneed Republicans as executive prestige and power—the “Bread and Butter Brigade”—can ally with them, will make his “Accidency” his regularly elected “Excellency” in 1868?

Have you *bribed* his ambition, and are democratic republican Unionists again betrayed, and that by Andrew Johnson? May he not learn how treachery is rewarded at your hands by the fate of Jere. Clemens? Did not your first succeeding Legislature abolish his office as soon as he had drawn his first salary?

YOU ASK FOR BREAD, MAY HE NOT GIVE YOU A STONE?

You have seen what Andrew Johnson proposed to do for you in 1863. Let me

tell you what he will do for you in 1866-7-8. He will delude you, with the hope of getting possession of the legislative department of the Government, into a bitter contest with the Government and northern peoples, in which you will, with the ink scarcely dry on your pardons, vent your malignity, venom and hate at the Government and these people. He will encourage you to murder, and persecute white Unionists, and negroes, and Yankees at the South.

He will stimulate you to do all these things, which are best calculated to arouse the fury of these northern people. If he gets a sufficient number of "my policy" men returned from the non-slaveholding States to the next Congress, united with the southern Representatives, he will undertake to force them in, and bring on war by a *coup d'état*. Or, if he fails in this, but succeeds in getting enough electoral votes in 1868, united with the electoral votes of the South, to elect him, he will then attempt the *coup d'état*. War will ensue. The South will be the scene of terrible war, in which the blood of whites and blacks, women and children, will run in rivers, and the excesses of the French Revolution of 1793 be re-enacted, and not a vestige of the "ruling class" in the South be left.

But the probabilities are that he will not be able to inaugurate the reign of terror and blood, because the northern and western democratic States will sustain the popular branch of the Government with unbroken unanimity. How then will he have served you? Panting, bleeding, exhausted by the contest, her hate and venom at the Government all uncovered, her rebelliousness unmasked, the blood of Union whites and negroes bespattering her garments, in 1868 she will lie at the mercy of the conquering government! When magnanimity has been scorned! clemency rejected! fury, and indignation aroused! what will be the fate of the thrice conquered South? *Vae victis!*

You next propose to get possession of the popular branch of the Government by overthrowing

THE RADICAL CONGRESS.

Now, what does this "radical Congress" desire you to do? What do the great democratic republican peoples of the North, East and West ask you to do? Simply to forego your mistaken aristocratic form of government in the southern States. They tell you that Mr. Calhoun was in error when he told you that you were "essentially aristocratic," but advised you to yield much to democracy as a "sectional policy;" that he was right when he advised you that it was through your "affiliation with that party in the middle and western States that you held power;" that he erred when he advised you that when you ceased "thus to control the nation through a disjointed Democracy," you should "resort to the dissolution of the Union" to maintain aristocracy.

They tell you that Jefferson Davis erred when he railed against the "tyranny of a majority," "the despotism of a majority;" "that government through the will of the majority must be abrogated." That your political reviews and literature erred in teaching in the South that the democratic axiom of the "greatest good of the greatest number" is a "pestilent and pernicious" dogma. They deny that "a hereditary Senate and Executive are the political forms best suited to the genius and most expressive of the ideas of the South." They say that the *Richmond Examiner* was mistaken when it declared that "the principles of popular government, and protection to popular right through popular government, is the mistaken civilization of the age, which a perverse generation has lifted up in the face of ancient institutions." That DeBow was mistaken when he declared that "the real civilization of a country is in its aristocracy." That "to make an aristocrat in the future we must sacrifice a thousand paupers, yet we would by all means make them, make them permanent, too, by laws of entail and primogeniture."

They declare to you that these declarations in favor of your aristocracy, made when you had no further object in disguising your purposes, show that you have maintained your aristocracy in the South, as "conscious, intelligent" enemies of democracy. That you must forego this form of republican government in favor of the democratic representative form of republicanism. That you must take on that constitutional government which Jefferson and Madison framed for the "model republic," and which has prevailed in the free States of this Union, carrying with them all constitutional guarantees, and making them great and powerful. That you must banish your proscriptive public sentiment, manufactured for despotic purposes, and let in democratic principles. That the constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press, constitutional comity between the States, must prevail. That every interest and locality, not alone the agricultural, must be developed *pari passu*. That white non slaveholders heretofore must be put to work and elevated by homogeneous free capital. That railroads, canals, churches, schools, villages, towns, cities, must spring up in the highly favored sunny South. That the lands of former wealthy

slaveholders must be enhanced in value, whether they sell them in small farms or hold them as landlords. That these States cannot be permitted longer to lag in the great race, under your mistaken form of civilization. The greatness and prosperity of these States is the aim and object of these "radicals," in despite of your opposition. But you reject insanely this prosperity. Your hate, venom, of the Government and of the people will be satisfied with nothing less than continued rebellion and attempts to establish your aristocracy and maintain your power, just as you *have been and are*. Be assured *you cannot do it*. Remember, "whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." The conflict is "irrepressible." Either democratic republican government must prevail all over the broad land, or the American republic be overthrown! Take heed in time. If you insist upon standing in the way of the progress of these great democratic principles, you will be crushed. Just those means will be resorted to by the Government, as soon as its power is firmly fixed—and this is inevitable—as your contumacy shall make necessary to accomplish the end. The Constitution clothes the departments of the Government with ample power, as Mr. Madison said, to "defend the system." Rest assured it will be done. I ask you, southern men, you who know the full power of public sentiment at the South—that it is the supreme law, after all, of the land—are not the constitutional amendments, civil rights bill, and freedmen's bureau bill, as against the supreme law of the section, mere paper pellets shot against Gibraltar? Except in so far as the two latter are maintained by military authority, do they amount to a "row of pins" as against that sentiment?

The constitutional amendments proposed by the "radical" Congress embody four essential features:

1. Repudiation of the Confederate debt.
2. Payment of the national debt.
3. Basing representation upon the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed, and providing for a proportionate reduction, in case of disfranchisement, except for participation in the rebellion, or other crime.
4. Disfranchisement from any office, civil or military, Federal or State, of those who, having previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in the rebellion, until Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, shall have removed the disability.

Admit that this is distasteful to you, is it comparable to the fate which you predicted for yourselves, during the war, as the result of failure? Does it make "freemen of slaves, or slaves of freemen?" Would Alabama pay the rebel debt if left to a vote? Ought she to repudiate the national debt if left to a vote?

If you do not allow the negroes to vote, if you disfranchise them, what greater right have you to represent them than Pennsylvania has? Does not the principle of this amendment bear equally on all the States? When you held the negroes as chattels, the Alabama owner of 100 negroes, worth \$100,000, counted 67 in the basis of representation, while the Pennsylvanian, with \$100,000 worth of coal stock, counted *one*. Do you wish this inequality re-enacted? But you say this was to force on you negro suffrage! Not unless you prefer it. It is left with the States, where you say it belongs. But you say we represent our women and children, why cannot we represent our negroes? Simply because *representation means protection*, and the Congress does not believe you are disposed to *protect* them. You have given them no reason to believe so. Representation is not for the benefit of the *representative*, it is for that of the *represented*. The negroes do not wish you to represent them. They prefer to be unrepresented, so long as you massacre them as you did at New Orleans and Memphis. But you say you are disfranchised from office—we can vote, but we cannot hold office. So am I. I have made no secret of my disqualification. It bears more severely on me than it does on you. You went into the rebellion *con amore*, I did not. You forced my complications. The difference between us simply is, that I, unaffectedly, acknowledge my allegiance to the Government, and support it according to my knowledge and ability. You do not. If you will, truthfully, unaffectedly, the doors of Congress will fly open for you. Your disability will disappear like the morning's mists before the rays of the sun.

Such is the radical action of Congress. Is it what you predicted for yourselves? Is it what Andrew Johnson of 1863 proposed for you?

With your knowledge of the "radicalism," of the revolutionary spirit and genius of the South; that genius which originated conscription and impressments in the South; that genius which threatened to precipitate Alabama, in the secession convention of 1861, out

of the Union, with a majority of one, over the bayonets of the Union men; what would that spirit and genius have done had positions been reversed, and had they held sway in the United States Congress? Would they have been troubled with the side issues of "test oaths," "negro suffrage," "disfranchisement," "civil rights bill," &c.? Or, would they have shook these to the winds, placed you, with a dash of the pen, under congressional government, governed you by laws emanating from Washington; by officers appointed from thence; and held you there, till "equal and exact justice" to all localities, interests, and peoples did permanently prevail in the southern States?

Be wise in time! The day waneeth!

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. J. SAFFOLD

Of Alabama

